

The Lioness and Her Whelps:

A

SERMON ON SLAVERY,

PREACHED IN THE

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SERMON.

1 MOREOVER take thou up a lamentation for the princes of Israel.

2 And say, What is thy mother? A lioness; she lay down among lions, she nourished her whelps among young lions.

3 And she brought up one of her whelps: it became a young lion, and it learned to catch the prey; it devoured men.

4 The nations also heard of him; he was taken in their pit, and they brought him with chains unto the land of Egypt.

5 Now when she saw that she had waited, and her hope was lost, then she took another of her whelps, and made him a young lion.

6 And he went up and down among the lions, he became a young lion, and learned to catch the prey, and devoured men.

7 And he knew their desolate palaces, and he laid waste their cities; and the land was desolate, and the fulness thereof, by the noise of his roaring.

8 Then the nations set against him on every side from the provinces, and spread their net over him: he was taken in their pit.

9 And they put him in ward in chains, and brought him to the king of Babylon: and they brought him into holds, that his voice should no more be heard upon the mountains of Israel.

[Ezekiel 19: 1 to 9.]

The curtain has just fallen upon the most significant, if it may not be called the most portentous, tragedy in our national history since the close of the war of Independence. A man of remarkably pure character from his youth up—conscientious, benevolent, disinterested, self-denying; a man heretofore exhibiting remarkable common sense—practical, straight-forward, unpretending; a man of more than ordinary mental culture, and of far more than ordinary mental power; a man of an heroic courage which is outshone by no example renowned in history,—such a man has been *executed, by hanging, upon the scaffold!* His crime was not murder, nor the inciting others to murder, for all the evidence goes to

show that he did not intend to harm any human being, except in self-defence, or in defence of those he sought to liberate. His crime was, the attempt to give a practical exposition of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, by inducing a few thousand slaves, more or less, to escape in a body to a free territory, and by providing them with arms for protection on their way. It was simply an attempt to do on a large and impracticable scale in Virginia, what he had previously done upon a small but practicable scale in Kansas. It is an interesting fact in this connection, that the first act of rebellion against the British Government was perpetrated four years before the Declaration of Independence, in the waters of Naragansett Bay, by *John Brown*. John Brown, whose name has since been held high in honor in his native State, despite the proclamation of the British authorities that they would hang any man who should interfere with their seizures of the vessels and cargoes belonging to the citizens of Providence, on the night of the 9th of June, 1772, at the head of a small band of men, stole on board the British war brig *Gaspee*, which had caused most of the mischief, took the crew prisoners, and set the brig on fire. The John Brown of 1772 lifted his hand in behalf of a people ready to defend him and themselves. The John Brown of 1859 raised his hand in behalf of a people, who, as the event proved, were unprepared to second his efforts. John Brown of 1772 ran the risk of the gallows for his own race—his own kith and kin. John Brown of 1859 ran the same risk for a strange people, of another color and race, who had no claims except as the oppressed and proscribed of the land. John Brown of 1772 was successful, and his memory is embalmed in the gratitude of his country. John Brown of 1859 tells us that he relied on false information, and for this blunder said that he deserved to be hung. Posterity will decide whether John Brown judged aright. He risked his life deliberately in a desperate adventure. He

lost the stake. If he did wrong, here was the wrong. If he was guilty, it was not for his heroism or his benevolence, but for entering upon an enterprize which, to all human appearance, could result only in disaster.

These events, the particulars of which, though all of thrilling interest and of marked significance, I must not delay to recount, have been so connected with the previous history of the violence and ruffianism of the representatives of the slave interest in Kansas; they were attended during their progress by such extraordinary exhibitions of the weakness of the institution of slavery, of the fears and conscious peril of slaveholders, and of the absurd and even ludicrous bluster and parade of some of its chief champions; they have been followed by such an insano development of blind and aimless rage towards the North, throughout the slaveholding regions, driving home by scores and hundreds the best known merchants and business agents, even the men who had bowed most humbly to their great idol in years past, and shouted most lustily, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"—they have been the occasion of such great swelling words in the halls of Congress; they have developed such a hatred to the Union and such criminal plans and purposes in reference to the National Government, extending even to the offering of large sums for the murder of distinguished citizens, and to the square, unequivocal and general declaration among slaveholders, that (to quote the language of one as a specimen of all,) if the Government be not hereafter administered by "Southern men and with Southern measures," that Government shall be broken down and destroyed, outpeering thus the murder and treason charged upon John Brown, by as much as the scale of the proposed crimes is greater; that, by means of all these united and continued excitements, the attention of the American people has been called, as it never was called before, to the question.

What is this system of slavery, in support of which so

much noise and threatening and excitement are deemed necessary? What is this system, in defence of which it is demanded that the mails be rifled, the freedom of speech struck down as it has never been in despotic Russia or Austria, the ordinary business of life suspended, and a reign of terror introduced? What is this system, which demanded the execution of a man whom the Governor by whom he was hung, pronounced "brave, truthful, firm, disinterested—the bravest man he ever saw," and this for intrinsically the same act which brought renown to Decatur at Algiers, to Lafayette and Kosciusko, and which has ever given its brightest records to the annals of heroism—the attempt to restore to man his manhood, and the essential rights of that manhood? *What is this system of Slavery?* is the question which is burning like a living coal in hearts that before have been filled with frigid indifference. *What is this system of Slavery?* is the question which many a lover of peace and the Union is asking, who in former days has gone to the very verge of his conscientious convictions in yielding to its demands; who had supposed that he had made his last sacrifice to the bloody Moloch, and had purchased, in the language of one, "a Sabbath of rest from the slavery agitation." What is this system? many such a man is indignantly asking, which, like the daughters of the horse-leech, continually cries, "Give, Give!" What is this system which openly writes upon its banners the motto, "*Rule or Ruin*;" which executes men for treason, and before the ink is dry upon the warrant, openly declares its intention to march to the National Capital and seize by force and arms the public treasures and the national archives? *What is this system of Slavery?* is the question which is occupying the profoundest thoughts of many a truly conservative mind, who honestly wishes to preserve the institutions of the country as our fathers left them; the system which is with headlong impetuosity breaking down all the ancient landmarks, reversing the settled policy of

the Government, and trampling out the distinguishing features of Republicanism. *What is this system of Slavery?* is the question which is again presenting itself to the Christian philanthropist, who had supposed that he had long ago answered it, but who is compelled to admit that he had failed entirely to measure the enormity of its wickedness. All over the land is this question asked. In every hamlet, by every fireside, in every gathering of men, is it undergoing discussion. Within two weeks, the truth that an "irrepressible conflict" is in progress among us, which can be quieted by no concessions and delayed by no compromises, has dawned clear and strong upon the minds of tens of thousands who have never given it a serious thought before. The progress made in the public prints during a single week, in the clear statement and the unanswerable proving of this central, vital truth, is truly astonishing. There can be no doubt that this strange adventure of John Brown, which we are all ready to pronounce foolish, and guilty because it was foolish, has done more to ripen public sentiment on the question of slavery than the mere discussions of a quarter of a century could have accomplished. *His* plan was a perfect failure; but *God's* plan, wrought out through him, is already a glorious success! Well did the grand old hero say, on his way to the gallows, "I have much reason to be cheerful: I shall accomplish more by my death than I could have done by my life."

My simple object in this discourse is to answer the question thus proposed, so far as it bears upon the single point to which these events are calling our attention, viz: **THE TENDENCY OF SLAVERY TO DISTURB THE PUBLIC PEACE BY THE VIOLENCE WHICH IT USES AND THE VIOLENCE WHICH IT PROVOKES.**

The practical conclusions which I shall endeavor to deduce are two:

1. That the only way in which we can save *the nation* from anarchy and civil war, is to separate

Slavery entirely from the National Government, and to confine it to the States where it now exists.

2. That the only way in which we can save the *Slave States* from the same calamities is to induce them, by all moral means in our power, to abandon the system, and to unite with them in bearing the loss which will attend its removal.

In this manner our political duty, as citizens, is distinguished from our duty as philanthropists and Christians. The former is performed when we get *Slavery shut up where it is*, so that nationally we shall have *nothing to do with it*. The latter is done when we have taken the muzzle from our pulpits, our societies, our journals, our parties, and our churches, and in the spirit of love have pointed out to the slaveholder its peril and its guilt, offering to bear our share in the burden of its removal.

This proposition and these inferences will be sustained by an argument drawn almost entirely from the *history* of this institution among us, and from its *inherent and necessary tendencies*, rather than from a direct Scriptural examination of it. Such a line of thought, while it *seems* less strictly religious than others ordinarily followed in sermons, is not *in reality* so. It is simply deducing the will of God and our duty from the history of his Providence instead of the declarations of his Word, and finds abundant sanction in the Bible itself, which is in great part a history of nations and individuals, and in the sermons of Stephen, Peter and Paul, as well as in the teachings of the prophets. The history of Israel is made to point the moral precepts of the Bible, and to communicate its most important lessons. The history of this nation, properly studied, does the same.

I have, then, no apology whatever to offer for the discussion of this subject on the Sabbath and in the pulpit. The chief political issues in our country are no longer secular. Politics have invaded the domain of the pulpit. Politicians, in the mad attempt to com-

mit the nation to the support and extension of Slavery, have abandoned finance for Biblical interpretation; they have exchanged political economy for ethics; they have substituted questions of conscience for questions of state. They have declared that the fundamental law of Christianity—its golden rule—has no application to the man guilty of a skin not colored like their own. They have even proclaimed that there is no law higher than the enactments of a human legislature, however partizan or corrupt. Is it to be expected that the “ambassadors of Christ,” who are expressly commissioned to look after the interests of his kingdom in our world, are to stand by, in utter silence, while questions like these are under discussion, and to utter no word of remonstrance and warning when claims like these are set up? They who think so, have made a mistake as to the character of the men with whom they have to deal. If any political party undertakes to meddle with the politics of Christ’s kingdom, they will most assuredly find that Christ’s ministers will meddle with their politics.

Ezekiel was remarkable for his interference with the politics of his times; and as he wrote under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, we may consider him a very safe guide for the prophets of the Lord in these days.

The passage which constitutes our text, is an example of his fidelity in rebuking the sins of both the government and the people of Israel.

Under the guise of a parable he gives a historical picture of one of the darkest periods of Jewish history—the reigns of Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim. The chief feature in the delineation is, that these Kings were *representative* men, embodying in their characters the prevailing spirit of the people. This fierce and ravening nation, eager in self-indulgence, fearless of God or man, high-handed in iniquity, is well represented by the lioness. The wicked and violent Kings whom the people had placed upon the throne,

are her whelps, partaking of her savage nature. They were nourished by her "among young lions." The people had surrounded them from their childhood with associations calculated to develop their ferocity. When the death of Josiah gave the coveted opportunity, the people brought forward his youngest son, who had no proper title to the throne, and insisted upon making him King. It must be, like people, like King. He was the legitimate product of the nation, if he was not the legitimate heir to the throne. He was the whelp of the lioness, which she had brought up, and which had learned to catch the prey and to devour men. As usual, this violent and ferocious spirit awakened fear among surrounding nations; fear led to self-defence, and self-defence led to violence and cruelty—the whole being directly traceable to the original ferocity of the lioness and her companions. "The nations also heard of him. He was taken in their pit, and they brought him in chains unto the land of Egypt." So the whelp who had been carefully nourished among lions, was treated as a lion; he was hunted down and destroyed. Then the lioness brought forward another whelp—the brother of Jehoahaz. He too was a legitimate product of the people and the times. But he turned to devour the nation itself. The lioness was bitten by her own whelp. "He went up and down among the lions, and he knew their desolate palaces, and he laid waste their cities, and the land was desolate, and the fulness thereof, by reason of his roaring." And so the rapacity and violence of the wicked nation were turned upon herself, and the great truth was vindicated: "They who take the sword, shall perish by the sword."

The parable could not have been written for Israel alone. We must place it among those passages which are sometimes said to have a "double sense,"—one applying to an immediate event, the other bearing the image of a fact of future history, unrecognized till its antitype appears, when the old, familiar pic-

ture starts from the canvass, like a prophet issuing from his ancient sepulchre, pointing with his bony finger, and exclaiming, "There is my vision—a reality!"

This nation is now the lioness! It cherishes an institution, and is governed by an institution, which is, in its essential nature, violent and barbarous. The spirit of that institution has permeated our government and inspired the governing majority of our people, so that the interests of that institution are termed *national*, its sentiments *national*, the parties which uphold it *national*. It has inoculated the National Government with the virus of its ferocity. It has been an unchristianizing and an uncivilizing agent among us. Its whole tendency has been to make us a nation of savages. It has given us the nature of *the lioness!*

More than this. The nation, as represented by its central government, has *lain down among lions*. It has accepted the embrace of the fiercest of the tribe. It has associated with those who have become most thoroughly imbued with the spirit of this barbarous institution. It has allied itself, not with moderate men even at the South, but with those who are termed in political parlance, "fire-eaters." It has listened to their counsels; it has trembled at their threats; it has enacted their savage desires into laws. The influence which is ruling in our land, is the pure product of the principle which regards a man as a *thing*, without any admixture of the Christian love which regards every man as a brother. In the sentiments of individual slaveholders this mingling of opposing principles can be found; but no such mingling can be found in the system of Slavery, nor in its national influence or political creed. The power which has long controlled our Government in all its departments, which has made our national laws and interpreted them and executed them, is the pure and simple expression and embodiment of the principle enunciated in the Louisiana code, in these words: "A

slave is one who is in the power of the master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to his master." In the South Carolina code the same principle is thus expressed: "*Slaves shall be deemed to be chattels personal, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever.*" In a decision of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, the slave is defined to be "*One doomed in his own person and posterity, to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits.*" Ponder, my hearers, the meaning of those fearful words, and tell me if it seems to you credible that they were uttered by unaided human lips, or that they were the legitimate offspring of any human brain! If there be any such thing as an inspiration from the Devil—and who can doubt there is?—such words give the highest internal evidence possible of a Satanic origin. They express the annihilation of every human right, the blotting out of every trace of manhood, the effacing of every liniment of the Divine image! To rob a man of his property, is a mere peccadillo, when seen by the side of this gigantic crime. To murder him outright, would be a deed of mercy in comparison with such a living death as is here assigned to the black man and his posterity, forever. Well has Jefferson said, "One hour of such bondage is worse than years of that our fathers rose to resist." Now we fully believe that the mass of slaveholders are vastly better than their laws. We believe that there are not a few in whose hearts Christianity has kept up a continual warfare with the hellish spirit of the system. Nay, more, we believe, and we are glad to bear a strong and decided testimony to the fact, that if there are to be found on the face of the earth men who are conscientious, and kind, and self-denying—men who would sooner lose their lives than to use the power their laws give them to convert a man into a *thing*—such men are to be

found among the Christian slaveholders of the South. But whatever may be true on this point, it is something with which, *nationally*, we have nothing to do. This class of men have lost their influence with the South, and no longer direct its national policy. The necessities of the system, as we shall soon show, have compelled its supporters to disregard the counsels of moderate and benevolent men. The sentiments of the slaveholders of the Revolution—of Washington and Jefferson—are treason now in the very home of their childhood. Even the men who sympathize with the opinions of recent statesmen of the South, yet hardly cold in their graves, are obliged to stifle their convictions, or if they utter them at all, to breathe them in whispers, averting suspicion, meanwhile, by outheroding the Herods around them in the extravagance and violence of their public utterances. Moderate, benevolent, Christian men, who do not accept Slavery as a finality, but regard it as always a misfortune, and usually a crime, have no political power. The black despot who rules the land, is the fell spirit of Slavery itself, evolved from its *intensest concentration*. To this ferocious Deity ambitious politicians bring their offerings, maintaining a disgusting rivalry in laying upon his altar sacrifices more horrid than his own unaided ingenuity could have demanded. Before him ministers of the lowly Jesus, “who came to preach the Gospel to the poor, and *deliverance to the captive*,” have humbly knelt, and have meekly acknowledged the authority of their political deity to amend or suppress the messages of their Divine Master, and have held out the very volume of inspiration itself, to be expurgated for the use of the free, and to be sealed up totally and forever from the perusal of the slave. Before the same cruel monster the men of trade have prostrated themselves, crying, “Give us dollars and we will lick the very dust from your feet.” And more than all, and worse than all, as indicating a still deeper debasement, and a more thorough moral debauchery—a great society of Chris-

tian men, the representatives of the morality and piety, not of the South, but of the free North, the land of the Pilgrims, the home of the School and the Church, this society, organized expressly to diffuse "vital piety and sound morality," and acting not under the terrorism of surrounding slavery, but in the heart of the metropolis of free trade, free labor and free speech, has, with every attendant circumstance of aggravation, arrayed itself before this Vishnu of slavery, this incarnation of violence and immorality and wrong, and covenanted by solemn vote, that it will not rebuke the sundering of husband from wife, of parent from child, not even of the infant from its mother's breast; that it will not condemn the sale of virtue from the block of the auctioneer; that it will not speak when Christ's gospel is withheld from those for whom Christ died; that it will not even repeat the teachings which the South in her better days heard from her most influential pulpits; that while it freely condemns the sins which are incident to the society and habits and pursuits of the North, it will cover its testimony against any crime forbidden in the Decalogue, the moment it is capable of application to the society, habits and pursuits of the South. If the political debauchery which we have just now described deserves the appellation of *horrible*, what less can we say of this prostitution of the church than that it is most humiliating and alarming? Both the Church and the State have lain down among the lions! Alas! where are the ten righteous for whose sake Sodom is to be saved? Would that we might hear the answer of God—"I have yet more than seven thousand in Israel, who have not bowed the knee to Baal."

We now advance to another point in this parable. The results of these associations in Israel were seen in *acts of violence and blood*. The whelps of the lioness, by the laws of nature, must be "young lions," who will catch the prey and devour men. The princes who were born and nurtured under such auspices

acted out all their inherent ferocity, till, "they laid the land desolate by the noise of their roarings."—So the result of the alliance of our government with the dark spirit of slavery has been the production not of cruel princes, but of cruel institutions, unjust laws, and an inhuman public opinion, which with us, are more than princes in their power for evil. From this prolific source have come the suspicions, and hatreds, and conflicts, and acts of violence and blood which have made the land mourn. From this source the same results will continue to flow, until the fountain is dried up. That slavery *has* been the cause of the cruel laws and violent acts which have disgraced our land, can be shown by an appeal to facts. That slavery will *continue* to disturb our tranquility and endanger our liberties, so long as it is permitted to have a controlling voice in our government, can be proved by a consideration of its inherent nature and tendencies. We know the past by the study of facts. We become prophets of the future by the study of principles and tendencies.

Look first at the history of the past.

It was slavery which demanded the enactment of that detestable law which was designed to compel every citizen to serve as a hound upon the track of the panting fugitive in pursuit of his manhood, which commanded every man to crush the simple instincts of humanity in feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, which surrendered any colored man, upon the merest shadow of evidence, to any who might claim him as property, giving a double fee to the magistrate who decided for the claimant. This law is itself ferocious, totally out of harmony with the very mild clause of the Constitution which is claimed as its basis—a clause which was intended to apply to the rendition of fugitive apprentices, as well as fugitive slaves. And its consequences have been, beyond those of any other measure ever adopted by our government, to inflame sectional jealousies, and to prepare the hearts of the people for violence and war.

It was a dark day for slavery when it secured that infamous act.

It was slavery which demanded of the Supreme Court of the United States, the declaration, that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and for a century previous, it was the sentiment of the Christian world that "the African race has no rights which the white man is bound to respect," with the deduction that such is the meaning and spirit of the Constitution, and even of the Declaration of Independence. Such a blasphemy against Him, in whose image all races are made, and such a libel upon the honored fathers of this Republic, could have had no other origin than the remorseless spirit of slavery. Its falsity as a historical statement is fully proved in the opinions of the dissenting Judges, while its concentrated atrocity, both in thought and language, will consign to an immortality of infamy the horrible declaration. "The African man has no rights which the white man is bound to respect." It is slavery epitomized. It contains its laws, customs and spirit, all crowded into one intense focus of blackness, within the limits of a single line!

Slavery has enlisted the whole naval and military power of the nation in procuring the enlargement of its domain; *Slavery* has affirmed in stately diplomatic papers, published in the heart of Europe, the central doctrine of its creed, which is essentially the law of wild beasts—"Slavery may seize what it desires, and may claim all it needs." *Slavery* has broken the most solemn compacts, under which it had received the whole stipulated condition, but had given none in return; *Slavery* has established violence as the law of territories which it had thus obtained by fraud; *Slavery* has compelled the Government to stand by in silence, while the dwellings of peaceful citizens were invaded by armed mobs, their property stolen and destroyed, their children murdered, their women subjected to worse than brutal violence, and has only suffered the government to

keep the peace when organizations had been formed to repel the assault ; *Slavery* has seized men in their fields and at their homes, has assembled them in a forest depth, has bound them hand and foot, and then shot them down like a herd of captured deer, and has prohibited the Government from making the least effort to discover or punish the murderers. *Slavery* has compelled the Government openly to countenance the destruction of the very Palladium of our free institutions, without which popular rule is sheer mockery—the freedom and purity of the ballot, and shamelessly to depose the agents and governors of its own appointment, who had not sunk low enough to screen the treason ; *Slavery* has compelled the government to aid, by a hypocritical and inefficient vigilance, the opening of the foreign slave trade, in which not only are men stolen from their families and their homes, but that most horrible of all crimes is committed—the crime which, it seems, can be expiated only on the gallows—the crime of seizing slaves from the possession of their masters, by armed forays,* and finally, in addition to all, slavery stands ready to make another demand, which is being enforced by many a savage roar, that its propagators shall not only be unmolested by the government, in the pursuit of their prey, but when that prey becomes dangerous, and lifts an arm in self-defence, then the frightened pursuers shall be permitted to retreat for safety to the strong holds of the nation, and “marines” shall be detailed to fight their battles for them. It is no longer the claim of slavery that it shall be let alone. The claim is for direct protection, for unlimited extension, and for an undisputed supremacy in the government of the nation. This is a terrible record of political and national debauch-

* It must be remembered that Africa is a slave-holding country, and that a large proportion of all its human exports are slaves stolen from their masters. Can we not have a fugitive Slave Law for Africa ? Why not ? Let us be consistent, and return at once all such slaves and their descendants to their African masters. That would settle the slavery question effectually, and on its own principles.

ery. Were I addressing a foreign audience, I should not dare to read it; for it could not be credited.—But you know it all! You have lived amid these events. You can trace by the aid of your own personal recollections, nearly the whole of this history of governmental crime and national corruption.—Look over then the records of the past! Gather up *your own recollections* of the events with which you have been personally acquainted, and tell me what unfraternal contest, what bitter hate, what act of violence, what mob, what cruel legislation, what monstrous judicial decision, what occurrence that has marred our happiness as a united and peaceful people has not sprung from the unsatiable demands of slavery for more protection, more room, and more privileges. Picture to yourselves what we should have been in all that constitutes national felicity and national greatness, had slavery been banished from the South when it was abolished at the North. The sun would not have shone upon so fair a land, nor would history have contained the record of so happy a people!

Let us now look forward to the future.

I have said that these troubles will continue so long as slavery exists among us as a national institution, and that if it continues in power, they will increase with fearful and fatal rapidity. This can be shown by examining the nature of the institution itself, and the necessities inherent in it. These, no measures can modify. These, no compromises can control. The system will work out its inherent tendencies. It is the part of true wisdom to discover these tendencies and to shape our conduct accordingly. That the inherent tendencies of slavery are towards a selfish and sectional policy, civil discord and deeds of violence and blood, I shall attempt to show by six distinct lines of argument:

1. From its effect upon the individual character of the slaveholder.
2. From the necessity, to the security and profit-

ableness of the system, of a continual expansion of its territory.

3. From the constant peril in which it places the slaveholder.

4. From the fact that it properly belongs to a despotic form of government, and is in its very nature, hostile to republican institutions, and the rights of republican citizens.

5. From the fact that it is essentially a state of war.

6. From the fact that it is necessarily and forever hostile to free labor.

1. From its effect upon the *individual character of the slaveholder*. He is accustomed from infancy to the idea that others are made for him, to serve him, to please him, to toil for him. His will is their law. They are his property. These claims, he is trained to believe, are not only legally just but sanctioned by the precepts of Christ. He exacts all the service of his slaves by a divine right. He is also educated to believe that these claims shall be maintained *by force*. He is accustomed to appeal to the motive of fear. Threatening becomes his natural language.—Arrogance and blustering become his natural manner. Severity and even cruelty, become familiar to his thoughts.* Of course this influence of slavery is often modified by other influences, as a natural amiability of temper, and the presence of true piety.—Some individuals will exhibit this influence of slavery in a much higher degree than others. But its influence will still be felt throughout a slaveholding community. The ruling spirits will be those who are

* The testimony of Thomas Jefferson on this point, is well known. See "Notes on Virginia," pp. 39, 40. He says:—"There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it * * * * *. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose rein to the worst of passions; and, thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities.

most thoroughly imbued with its characteristics.—The public policy, the laws, the judicial and executive administration will exhibit the pure spirit of the institution, which must be the chief interest and controlling power, wherever it exists. Hence the slaveholder, despotic toward his slaves, is imperious, passionate, overbearing, and resentful among his peers. In slaveholding communities the slow processes of law are no protection against the inflammable, ungovernable, spirit of such men. It is necessary to establish the code of honor, and to carry the revolver and the knife. Nothing can restrain men educated under such influences from words of insult and acts of violence, but the knowledge that an instant and fatal retribution waits upon the offence.—In his intercourse with non-slaveholders, with men of altogether another build and mold, men educated to self-control, and to think before they act, men who can receive an insult without returning a blow, men who can smile at his rage, and pat him and sooth him as they would an angry child, or a restive horse, with such men he will naturally ply his arts of intimidation to the utmost. If they yield to him, either from fear, or as is more commonly the case, from policy, he will only demand the more, and storm the louder. You cannot expect moderation from a man whose habitual feeling is, that his desires are the measure of his rights. The more you give such a man, the more he will demand. The more you exhibit of self-control and of a generous, forgiving spirit, the more sure he will be that you are a coward. And when at last you reach your ultimatum, and tell him that neither piety nor policy will permit you to go further, then he will fly into a furious excitement, in which anger, disappointment and fear are mingled together, so that after all your concessions you will have gained nothing except the discovery that you have made a mistake, and that his last state is worse than the first. Now let it not be forgotten that though this description is fully ap-

plicable to comparatively a few *individuals*, inasmuch as we usually find some redeeming traits, yet it does apply to all of slavery *with which we have anything to do*. It does apply to its spirit, its policy, its demands, as these are presented to us in the *affairs of state*.

Now it is perfectly plain that such a spirit as this must necessarily arouse, sooner or later, civil discord, mutual criminations, and intense hostility, and that if not met in season with an unflinching determination, it will lead to violence and blood. To suppose otherwise, is to suppose that the free men of the North are prepared to give up all which they hold sacred and dear, trample upon all their conscientious convictions, to disregard all their national interests, to crush out every spark of manliness and self-respect, in a word to become slaves themselves. To this issue it must come at last. For there can be no end to these demands short of it.

John Randolph only gave utterance to the inherent spirit of slavery, when he hissed out his contempt for the "Northern doughfaces," as he termed them, upon the floor of Congress, and declared that slaveholders would drive them with a whip, as they did their slaves.

Preston S. Brooks fairly represented the institution of which he was the champion, when he made his cowardly and cruel attack upon Sumner.

Sumner, the polished gentleman, the finished scholar, the elegant but vehement orator, a man of a lofty courage, a chivalric temper, and noble disinterestedness, calmly reasoning his great proposition—"Freedom national—slavery sectional," encircling it with a wealth of metaphor and the choicest gems of language, and elevating the whole by the uplifting of a great soul, into the sphere of the grandest eloquence—he is the fit representative of Freedom.

Brooks, goaded by pride to a deed to which his courage was unequal, dogging his prey day after day in quest of a *safe* opportunity for attack, protecting

himself with a body guard of friends, leaping upon his unsuspecting victim when cramped by his desk, felling him to the floor, and then in perfect security, showering his blows upon a defenceless head—is the very impersonation of slavery, cruel and cowardly, furious yet trembling, ferocious when safe, whining and terrified in peril.

Sumner, enfeebled and even prostrated for a time, but gradually returning to vigor and health again, well represents freedom in our land, bleeding and beaten now, but surely to rise again, to life and dominion.

Brooks, visited by the hand of God with a disease of the throat, which compelled him to endure all the horrors of that punishment which was due to his murderous assault, and dying a violent and agonized death, not by the arm of the law, but by the intervention of God, foreshadows the coming down of the institution, whose savage nature he had imbibed.

Just after this bloody transaction, while its mingled barbarity and meanness, were nauseating the moral sense of the nation, I visited the spot, familiar to me from childhood, where the Revolutionary hero and scholar and orator, JAMES OTIS, breathed his last. I thought of the parallel which might be drawn between these men—Otis, the champion of American liberty in its infancy, and Sumner, its defender in the perils of its prime. Otis, like Sumner, was the marked scholar and orator of his times. Like Sumner, he could not brook oppression. Like Sumner he poured forth his burning soul in indignant words. Like Sumner he suffered. An exasperated company of British officers waylaid him, by night, in the streets of Boston, unarmed and defenceless, and beat him about the head with their swords. The blows dethroned that regal intellect. Bleeding and senseless, he was hurried to Andover, where he found concealment and sympathy in the house of a friend. For fourteen years he suffered. For fourteen years a cloud rested upon his battered brain. But one day

—it was just as the long war, of which he had been one of the earliest victims, had reached its successful termination,—while the family were dining, a black cloud rolled up from the horizon, and sent its thunders reverberating through the heavens. Otis caught the inspiration of the scene, and hastened to the door. For the first time in all that period, his countenance beamed with the light of an awakened intellect. His eye flashed with its wonted fires.—The grandeur of the storm aroused long silent echos in his soul. But while his friends were listening with delight to words which kindled their fondest hopes, a flood of light and a crash of sound filled the air! His feeble form was laid low, but his electric spirit, leaping into that chariot of fire, was borne along the lightning's path, to the glorious home of the good and the brave!

The analogy is not perfect. The British government and the British people, ashamed of that ruffianly assault, awarded him, through the colonial courts, damages to the amount of \$10,000, which Otis magnanimously refused to receive. The Southern people, that portion of them I mean who assume to speak for their section, not only applauded the act which disgraced them, but ever since that time have heaped upon the illustrious sufferer every epithet of abuse and contempt which the language furnishes.

I trust the analogy is to fail in another particular, and that the clarion voice of Sumner is yet to ring through the land, announcing the final triumph of his great principle, and proclaiming, "Slavery is sectional, Liberty is national."

Do you ask for further illustrations of the influence of Slavery in producing that unfraternal, violent spirit, the whole tendency of which is to civil discord? Read it in numerous advertisements offering large sums of money as a reward for the murder of some scores of distinguished Northern men; hear it in the threat recently uttered on the floor of Congress, addressed to more than one hundred of the

representatives of the people, "We will hang every man of you." More than all, see it in the cruel ingratitude of those insatiable Southerners towards their Northern allies—towards the men who have sacrificed in the defence of the successive demands of Slavery, their reputation, their influence, their character, their consciences, everything in fact but their money and their offices. Surely, when we survey the condition of this army of office-holders, politicians, merchants, manufacturers and their numerous dependents, when we think of all that they have lost and suffered in the hope of securing the undying friendship of their slaveholding employers, the hardest heart must be moved to pity. When we see some sent with clouded reputation, broken-hearted, to their graves; when we hear others, who even now are gallantly heading the forlorn hope in the struggle for the nationalization of Slavery, compared, as they have been by one leading Southern paper, to Lucifer, who, in a most bland and gentlemanly manner, is leading the South to perdition; when we read such language as the following, in another influential paper of that section, applied to these distinguished patriots and orators, "If there is any character in the world that we have any contempt for, it is the dirt-eating Dough-face of the Free States. He has no real regard whatever for the South and its institution, and yet, under the pretense of sympathy for them, he will proclaim himself our friend, keeping his eye steadily all the while upon the *pecuniary* benefit to be derived therefrom. He will do anything that Southern fire-eaters require of him, even to licking the very dust off their shoes."—I say, when we see such language applied to men, who, whatever may be their motive, have placed the South under such a debt of obligation, we can with difficulty suppress our indignation. To be sure, we do not agree with these kind gentlemen in their policy; we think most certainly that they are aggravating the arrogance and ferocity they seek to quell; we agree with

their accusers that, by misplaced charity and moderation, they are leading the South and the whole country down to utter perdition. But yet we say it is a shame that those for whom they are making these tremendous sacrifices, should treat them with such contempt and loathing, actually placing them below Abolitionists themselves, in the moral scale ! If they treat their friends thus, how will they treat those whom they deem their foes ?

In view of all these facts which we have now noted in reference to the influence of Slavery upon the *individual character* of those involved in it, is it not evident that the more we yield, the more we compromise, the more we bear, in the presence of such an enemy, the greater our danger becomes ? The whelp of the lioness is a *young lion*, and the only way to treat a young lion is, to face him boldly, to look him in the eye, and to strike home the instant he springs.

2. This tendency of Slavery to discord and violence is seen in the fact that its security and profitableness require the *constant expansion of its territorial area*. This argument, which I cannot now fully state, rests upon two facts. The first is, that all proper tillage of the soil is unprofitable with slave labor, which can be remuneratively employed only on virgin soil of natural fertility ; so that as soon as this is exhausted the master must remove or his slave become worthless. The second is, that there is no security for the masters in a dense population of slaves. The natural increase must be removed where they can be spread over more territory, or by the mere weight of numbers they will overpower and absorb the slaveholding class. Indefinite and continuous expansion is the law of Slavery. But this means *invasion* !—This means *WAR* ! The lion does not live like the ox. He must have room where he can “ catch the prey and devour men.” The nation which maintains Slavery must, *from the necessity of the case*, become a nation of freebooters. It will arm the world against itself !

Its hand being against every man, every man's hand must be against it. Is it not so? Look at the acquisition of Texas, and study well its history. Look at the expeditions, fitted out, over and over, at the South for the invasion of Cuba and Central America, to extend Slavery,—the very South which is thrown into such transports of excitement at the expedition of Brown, with seventeen men, to extend Freedom. Look at the stately diplomatic manifesto issued in Europe, by the man who has since been rewarded with the chief magistracy of the nation, declaring that if Spain should be guilty of the humanity of emancipating slaves in Cuba, or, to use the words of that document, of “Africanizing Cuba,” it would constitute such a violation of the rights of this country as to justify immediate invasion! Was ever anything more absurd? Is it any wonder that England and France at once declared that they would defend Spain against this most holy invasion in support of the rights of Slavery? Is it any wonder that every civilized nation is watching us most narrowly, ready to take up arms any moment that Slavery shall succeed in gaining control enough to carry its plans into execution? Let timid compromisers, who would sacrifice anything to Slavery for the sake of peace, ask themselves if they are ready to meet the *world in arms* for the sake of peace! A most unanswerable argument for such men could be framed at this point, on their own principles of reasoning. Once let Slavery get full possession of this government, and the utterance of Calhoun would receive a fearful fulfilment—“The civilized world is against us.” The triumph of Slavery at home means war with the world abroad!

3. I argue that the tendency of Slavery is to discord and violence, because it is a *most dangerous institution for those involved in it*. Every slaveholder knows, that if the abject hundreds and thousands about him knew their rights and their power, his possessions, his life, his dear ones, would be sacrificed

in a moment. Conscience, too, continually troubles him, and the wicked flee even when no man pursueth. How often have we been told by slaveholders, "The South slumbers upon a volcano!" We might ask, Did God intend that his children should slumber upon volcanos? Can that be a Divinely appointed institution which compels men to abide in constant terror? What a confirmation have we had of the truth of this statement during the last few weeks! Suppose that the citizens of Springfield should be informed to-morrow morning that a party of horse-thieves, numbering seventeen, had taken possession of the Armory, with the horses they had stolen! Would it cause any fear or any excitement? Is it probable that one man in a thousand would turn fifty rods out of his way to his business to see the fearful spectacle? Of course not. A squad of police would be considered fully competent to protect the town, if not to capture and disarm the culprits. What does it mean, then, that John Brown and his immortal seventeen, have sent a panic not only through a town, but a State, and through fifteen States, and that not for a day, but for weeks, till the whole country laughs at the ridiculous exhibition? The cause is in the *System of Slavery!* The enemy they feared was not John Brown, but their own slaves. Slavery is a system of terror, not for the slave, but for the master. And fear is always cruel, and always violent. What are you to expect? Here are three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders. They hold more than four millions of slaves. They have among them six millions of non-slaveholding whites, whom they grind to the dust socially, intellectually, pecuniarily and politically. They are connected with thirteen and a half millions in the Free States, whom they are conscious of having bullied and provoked to the utmost limit of their patience. What if the thirteen millions should say, "We have done enough for you; take care of yourselves?" What if the six millions should say, "We have lived under an oligarchy long enough.

We propose now to have some of the offices, and control some profitable branches of business, and educate our children as well as yours are educated; in a word, we would like to try democracy"—not falsely so called. Suppose that the four millions should say, "We have been chattels long enough. We propose to try the experiment of being men, and bring the question to a practical test whether we are only fit for slaves." Suppose any one of these events should happen? Suppose they all should happen? What a prospect for the slaveholder! What wonder that he trembles? What wonder that he raves with excitement? What wonder if cruelty and stripes and blood—ever the defence of the feeble oppressor against his victims, should mark his steps? Thus it ever has been, thus it ever will be.

4. I argue that the tendency of Slavery is to disorder and violence, in a Republic especially, because it is *essentially a despotic institution, and hence is directly at war with a Republican government, and the rights of Republican citizens*. Were there time to expand this, to us, most important point, I should attempt to show you that no system of repression by which great classes of society are held in subordination to other classes, whether that subordination be in the form of feudal aristocracy, or of serfdom, or of slavery, can be maintained under a Republican form of government. I should show you that the greater the subordination, the further must the government be removed from the democratic form, and the nearer it must approach the despotic. I should show you that Slavery only exists at the South, at present, in consequence of the substitution, to a great extent, of an oligarchy for a democracy, and that even the modified republicanism still left, is unsafe and must be got rid of, if any tolerable security is to be gained for Slavery. I should show you that the denial of the right of petition, the repression upon free speech in past times, and at the present time, to an extent never known even in the most despotic countries of Europe, the

nearly entire destruction of the freedom of the press which long since took place, the denial of freedom of locomotion, the introduction of spies and a secret police, the closing of the courts of Justice to the suits of Northern men and Northern States, as in the case of South Carolina and Massachusetts, the imprisonment of colored citizens of Free States, without any charge of crime, the rifling of the mails for incendiary matter, now ordered by the Postmaster General of the United States, thus making each petty postmaster a censor of the press and of the private correspondence of the whole country,—that all this, and much more of the same sort which might be mentioned, is plainly sapping the very foundation of our Republican Government, and will just as surely lead to a furious and bloody contest if suffered to go on unchecked, as there are hearts in the land that bound with the blood of Revolutionary heroes, and hands that are strong with the might of Christian love.

5. I argue that the necessary tendency of Slavery is to discord and violence, *because it is essentially a state of war.*

The slave is virtually a captive in the hands of his master. The law which governs him is the law of force. The whole arrangement starts from the idea that the slave has no rights or privileges but those which the master gives him. To establish such a system, is to proclaim martial law—with its passports and watchwords—with its permits and confinements—with its arrests and examinations—with its invasions of the privacy of dwellings, its searches of places of private deposit, its censorship of personal correspondence and general literature, its supervision of the school and the pulpit. You may govern four millions of freemen with but few laws and little force; but to hold four millions of men as prisoners or slaves, requires the most minute and stringent regulations, and ample and well organized forces. The effect of this necessity of Slavery upon the in-

dividual character of the slaveholders, and its essential antagonism to Republican institutions, have been already referred to. The point now is, that in a Confederacy like ours, this system not only requires the law of force at home, but also abroad; that being essentially a military system, it must not only make its own territory a camp, but it must erect its breastworks, and mount its guns, and set its guards, and send out its scouts, over all surrounding territories. Who cannot see the peril of such a state of things? Who does not see that such preparations for hostilities are adapted at any moment to precipitate hostilities? How narrowly have we escaped civil war in repeated instances, in connection with the efforts of our military neighbors (to keep up the figure) to capture deserters? How nearly did Boston approximate to a state of war, when at the rendition of Anthony Burns her Court House was surrounded with chains, and filled with armed men, her streets commanded by cannon, and the very spot where the negro Attacks fell in a daring and desperate street fight with the British troops, (the first martyr, be it remembered, to the cause of American liberty,) covered with regiments to force the negro Burns into American Slavery! This is the necessity which has now come. Slavery can no longer be safe with only an internal military organization. It must push its defences far beyond. And to what will this necessity bring us? What if the threat of Governor Wise had been executed, and bands of Virginia troops had been sent through Pennsylvania and Ohio, in pursuit of real or fancied invaders? What if the forces of the United States should be employed all over the land, as they were in Kansas, in support of all the preposterous claims of slaveholders, as to their right to carry their slaves wherever the flag of the Union is floating? What would that be? IT WOULD BE WAR! nothing more, nothing less. Can any man be so blind as not to see that the maintenance of a system which holds four millions of men as close prisoners, is

a system which, sooner or later, will produce conflict and bloodshed, in a nation of freemen? Can any man believe that this land is to be put under martial law, as Charlestown has been for the last few weeks, without resistance? Are the American people prepared for a *Military Despotism*, for the protection and extension of Slavery? And is not the fact that the necessities of the system are already demanding the military arm and martial law in its defence, an indication that this institution of repression and force, must not be allowed another inch of territory, or another particle of power?

6. I argue the existence of a necessary tendency in Slavery to discord, violence and war, from the fact so ably presented last summer by one of the profoundest statesmen of the country, that there is, and ever must be, in the presence of Slavery, an "irrepressible conflict" *between free and slave labor*. It is the knowledge that the free white population of the South are in danger of awaking to a recognition of their true interests at this point, which is creating much of the present excitement among slaveholders. As soon as a few simple facts, such as Helper's book contains, shall be understood by this class, there will come a terrible hand to hand conflict between free and slave labor at the South, which will result either in the destruction of free suffrage, which is nearly all now left of Republicanism at the South, or in the *overthrow of Slavery!*

By these six independent lines of argument, therefore, viz: the influence of Slavery on individual character, the necessity of territorial expansion, the peril in which it involves the slaveholder, its essentially anti-republican character, its being a state of war, and its hostility to the interests of free labor, by each and all these considerations, are we brought to the conclusion that the future of Slavery will be as bad as its past has been, and that there is indeed a LIONESS among us, whose whelps will not cease "to lay waste our cities, and make the land desolate, and

the fullness thereof, by the noise of their roaring," unless we "set against him from every side, and spread our net over him, and put him in ward in chains, and put him into holds that his voice be no more heard upon the mountains of Israel," which is, being interpreted—" *Shut it up in the Southern States, AND KEEP IT THERE!*"

If these reasonings are sound, then it follows most clearly, that the remedy for the evil is not to be found in any further concessions to Slavery. Such concessions in the past have brought us into our present difficulties. The grand error occurred at the beginning, when Slaveholding States were drawn into the Confederacy under the mistaken idea that Slavery would soon disappear among them. These conflicting elements should never thus have been bound together. It was a greater mistake, when the distinctive feature of Republicanism, universal suffrage, on the basis of universal manhood, was abandoned, and a property basis admitted in the South, whereby every five slaves were accounted equal to three white men, in fixing the basis of representation in the National Government. Every succeeding concession, the annexation of Texas and its prospective erection into five Slave States, the admission of Missouri as a Slave State, on the basis of the compromise then regarded as a finality, the passage, not of a Fugitive Slave Law, but of *that* Fugitive Slave Law, which deserves a place only in the code of Draco, the tame submission to the abrogation of the compromise just referred to, after the South had received all the benefits,—every one of these have aggravated the difficulty they were intended to remove. And now, if we go on and try to calm the present excitement by throwing more sops to Cerberus, if we go on and yield to the *next* demand, which will be the interference of the naval and military power of the nation to hold the slaves in subjection; and the *next*, which will be the protection of slave property in the territories, against the will of their people and the acts

of their legislature; and the *next*—for which Virginia is now suing in the New York courts—the right of the slaveholder to bring his slaves upon free soil, and take them away again at his pleasure, thus establishing Slavery at the North for Southern citizens, and only prohibiting it to our own; and the *next*, which will be the opening of the African Slave Trade with all its unparalleled horrors,—I say, that if we suffer ourselves to be frightened or cajoled into any or all of these concessions, or any other concession, which shall put the keeping or the extension of Slavery into the hands of the nation, and stamp its guilt upon the conscience of the nation, and link its sure punishment with the destiny of the nation, then, instead of being conservatives, we are destructives. We are taking the direct and shortest course to ruin our country, to deluge this fair land with blood, to lay desolate our sanctuaries and our homes, and to extinguish the hopes of the world.

But if we yield not another inch of ground—if we leave Slavery, so far as our political action goes, to be managed by the States who choose to retain it—and in the use of moral means, in the discharge of our personal responsibility, as the friends of the down-trodden, the friends of humanity and of Christ, if in this relation we speak the whole truth in love, from our pulpits, through our societies, in our personal intercourse, what will then happen?

Will it be disunion? No—most emphatically No! If your patience were not already exhausted, I think it would be possible to demonstrate the moral and physical impossibility of dissolving, for any length of time, States, related, as are these, in descent, in language, in general character, in ties of kindred blood, in national interests, in a common religious faith, and occupying a territory divided by no natural boundaries, but connected by immense rivers, by innumerable railways, and by a web of postal communications and telegraphic wires.

Will it be civil war? I answer No!—unless it is

the design of Providence to make short work with Slavery, for it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion, that six months from the opening of such a war, the sun would shine on a population of freemen, from Maine to Mexico.

The result will, so far as human foresight can penetrate, be neither of these. The first result will be excitement and threatening. When it is distinctly seen that the North is immovable, these will cease. The next question with the South will be, What is the best thing to be done? We cannot extend our territory; we cannot have national protection for our system—we are in danger from foes without—the thirteen and a half millions of the Free States; from foes around—the six millions of non-slaveholders in our communities; from foes within—the four millions of slaves, who fill our houses and cover our lands, and we are but a band of three hundred and fifty thousand, all told. What shall we do? Then would I advocate Northern interference with Slavery. I would say to the South, We are brethren. We shared the guilt of introducing Slavery. We have shared the profits of its continuance—you directly, and we indirectly. Now we will share the expense and loss of its removal. Emancipate, on some safe and practicable plan—quickly or gradually, as you please,—emancipate your slaves. The proceeds of the whole Public Domain shall be devoted to the removal of this curse. National taxation shall be added, if necessary. We will deal with you liberally and generously. You shall be fully satisfied that we have borne our part. Then, as to the destiny of the emancipated race, we leave that to be directed by Providence. We only stipulate that they shall be treated kindly and justly, and that they shall have every needed assistance, whether they remain to cultivate your rice and cotton fields, or gather in communities upon your southwestern frontiers, or return to their native continent.

To sum up all in a word: If we stop where we are,

and resolve that hereafter we will act from no principle of mere human expediency, but that we will do exactly right, and refuse to do anything wrong, let the consequences be what they may, a peaceful and happy solution of this vexed question is possible and near at hand. But if we go on as we have done, compromising and trembling, and distrustful of the power of Truth, and the power of God, then in the raid of John Brown, we have seen the commencement of a series of violent acts, which will flood our dwellings and our streets with blood, and lay waste the fairest heritage God ever bestowed upon man.